THE CASTLE OF LOHARA.

BY

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MEMBER OF THE HUNGARIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES.

[*Reprinted from "The Indian Antiquary," September, 1897.*]

BOMBAY:
EDUCATION SOCIETY'S PRESS.
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With kindest regards
of M. A. St

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THE following notes on an ancient stronghold of the mountains enclosing Kaśmîr have been prepared for my annotated translation of **Kalhaṇa's Râjataraṅgiṇî** now passing through the press.* Their publication in this place may be useful as supplying a specimen of the commentary which accompanies that translation. They may also serve to illustrate the results which a closer study of the Chronicle and a series of antiquarian tours have furnished as regards the **ancient topography of Kaśmîr** and the adjacent territories.

The whole of these results has been embodied in the detailed **maps of Ancient Kaśmîr** which with the assistance of the Asiatic Society of Bengal I have been able to prepare, as a supplement to my work, at the Survey of India Offices. I hope soon to publish these maps with a separate memoir in the Asiatic Society's *Journal*. Until then I must refer for any of the topographical details discussed below to the maps shewing the modern topography of the territory, as contained in the "Atlas of India" and other publications of the Survey of India.†

§ 1. **Lohara** or **Loharakoṭṭa**, the 'Castle of Lohara,' has played an important part in Kaśmîr history as the ancestral home and stronghold of the dynasty whose narrative fills the last two cantos of Kalhaṇa's **Râjataraṅgiṇî**. In view of the very frequent references which Kalhaṇa makes to this locality, its correct identification is essential for the full understanding of the events related in that portion of the Kaśmîr Chronicle.

It may justly be doubted whether Wilson who first proposed to

* To be published early in 1899 by Messrs. A. Constable & Co., London, in two volumes quarto.

† See "*Atlas of India*," Sheets 28 and 29, scale four miles to one inch; also *Map of Kashmir with part of adjacent mountains surveyed during* 1855-57, scale two miles to one inch.

identify *Lohara* with **Lahore** (*Essay on the Hindu History of Cashmir*, p. 47), would have hazarded this suggestion if the text of Books vii. and viii. had then been accessible to him. Notwithstanding, however, the evident impossibility of making this assumed position of Lohara agree with the numerous passages in which Kalhaṇa speaks of it as a hill-fortress and as situated in close proximity to Kaśmîr,[1] Wilson's conjecture has been accepted with implicit faith by subsequent interpreters. It has thus found its way too into numerous works not directly dealing with Kaśmîr.[2] With some other topographical misunderstandings of this kind, it has helped to create greatly exaggerated notions as to the political power and territorial extent of the Kaśmîr kingdom at that late period.

§ 2. The local indications furnished by the passages to be discussed below, had led me for some time back to look for Lohara in the mountain districts which adjoin Kaśmîr immediately to the south of the Pîr Pantsâl range. But it was only in the course of a tour specially undertaken in August, 1892, in search of this locality, that I was able to fix its position in the valley now called **Loh^{a}rin**, belonging to the territory of **Prûnts** (Parṇotsa). A brief account of this identification has been given in the '*Anzeiger der philosophisch-historischen Klasse*' of the Imperial Academy of Vienna, 14th December 1892, and in a paper read before the Royal Asiatic Society (see *Academy*, 1893, Nov. 24).

§ 3. Referring for some further topographical and ethnographical details to the remarks given below, it will be sufficient to note here that **Loh^{a}rin**, marked **Loran** on the maps, comprises the well-populated and fertile mountain district formed by the valleys of the streams which drain the southern slopes of the Pîr Pantsâl range between the Taṭakûṭî Peak and the Tôś^{a}maidân pass. The Loh^{a}rin River which is formed by these streams, receives at Maṇḍî the stream of the Gâgrî Valley which adjoins Loh^{a}rin to the N.W. Some eight miles further down it flows into the Sûran River with which together it forms the Tohî (Taushî) of Prûnts.

The broadest and best-cultivated part of the **Valley of Loh^{a}rin** lies about 8 miles above Maṇḍî, at circ. 74° 23′ long. 33° 48′ lat. The cluster of large villages situated here (distinguished after the

[1] Comp. *e. g. Râjat.* vii. 140, 703, 862, 959; viii. 203, 379, 567, 739, 831, 1227, 1630, 1794 sqq., 1875 sqq., 1997, etc.

[2] Comp. Troyer's note on iv. 177 and Vol. iii. p. 570; Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, iii. pp. 1042, 1119; also Dr. T. H. Thornton's excellent monograph "*Lahore*," 1876, p. 107.

tribal names of their inhabitants as *Tântr'vand*, *Gêg'vand*, and *Dôt-vand*) are jointly known by the name of *Loh²rin* and may be regarded as the centre of the district. Through Loh²rin proper and then through a side-valley descending from the mountains on the N. leads the path to the Tôś²maidân Pass which from early times to the present day has formed one of the most frequented and best routes from the Western Panjâb to Kaśmîr. The importance of this route and the easy communication thereby established explains the close political relations of Lohara with Kaśmîr as well as the prevalence of a Kaśmîrî population in the present Loh²rin.

§ 4. In examining the main passages of the Râjataraṅgiṇî bearing on Lohara with a view to proving its identity with the modern Loh²rin, it will be most convenient to follow the order of Kalhaṇa's narrative.

The prominent place occupied by Lohara in the historical events related in Books vii. and viii., is chiefly due to the close connection which the marriage of King Kshemagupta with **Diddâ**, the daughter of **Siṁharâja of Lohara**, established between the royal families of Kaśmîr and Lohara. This union as well as the fact that Siṁharâja was himself married to a daughter of Bhîma Śâhi, the mighty ruler of Udabhâṇḍa (Vaihand) and Kâbul,[3] proves that the territory of the former could not have been restricted to the Loh²rin Valley alone. It probably comprised also other neighbouring valleys to the south of the Pîr Pantsâl such as Maṇḍî, Sûran, Sadrûn, perhaps also Prûnts itself.[4] Diddâ who after the death of Kshemagupta and after disposing of her son and grandsons ruled Kaśmîr in her own name (980-1003 A. D.), adopted as her successor Saṁgrâmarâja, the son of her brother Udayarâja.[5] Lohara remained in the possession of her nephew **Vigraharâja** of whom we do not know whether he was a son of Udayarâja or another of Siṁharâja's numerous sons.

§ 5. **Vigraharâja** had already in Diddâ's lifetime appeared as a pretender.[6] After the death of Saṁgrâmarâja (A. D. 1028) he made a second unsuccessful attempt to seize the Kaśmîr throne. He marched from Lohara for Śrînagar, burnt on the way the Kaś-

[3] Comp. vi. 176 sqq. and my paper '*Zur Geschichte der Çâhis von Kabul*,' Festgruss an R. von Roth, pp. 200 sq.

[4] See vi. 176 where Siṁharâja is called *durgânâṁ Loharâdînâṁ śâstâ*; vii. 1300 and viii. 914 sqq., where *Parṇotsa* (Prûnts) seems to be referred to as within the confines of Lohara territory; also viii. 1945, 2277.

[5] Comp. vi. 355; vii. 1284. [6] vi. 335 sqq.

mîrian frontier-station (*dvâra*), and appeared after two and a half days' hard marching before the capital where he was defeated and slain.[7]

Vigraharâja's expedition took place soon after the death of Saṁgrâmarâja which fell at the commencement of the month Âshâḍha (June-July). At that season of the year the shortest route of the invader lay over the **Tôṣ[a]maidân** Pass. This, notwithstanding its height (circ. 13,500 feet above sea level), is open for traffic of all kinds from May till November. The practical possibility of covering the distance within the above time was tested by me in 1892 on the tour referred to. Leaving Loh[a]rin on the morning of the 19th August with baggage animals and load-carrying coolies I reached without difficulty on the evening of the following day the edge of the Tôṣ[a]maidân plateau above the village of Drang (see note 7). From there half a day's march across the level valley would suffice to bring one to Śrînagar.

Vigraharâja's son and successor **Kshitirâja** whom we find also mentioned as ruler of Lohara in Bilhaṇa's Vikramâṅkadevacharita,[8] resigned his throne in favor of **Utkarsha**, the grandson of King Ananta and younger brother of Harsha.[9] When Utkarsha on Kalaśa's death (A. D. 1089) was called to rule over Kaśmîr, he united with his new kingdom the territory of Lohara,[10] which henceforth became the mountain fastness and place of safety for the Kaśmîr rulers in the troubled times of the succeeding reigns.

§ 6. In the time of **Harsha** we hear of an expedition sent against Râjapurî, the modern Rajaurî, which took the route *viâ* Lohara, *i. e.*, over the Tôṣ[a]maidân Pass.[11] When subsequently the pretender **Uchchala**, the descendant of a side branch of the house of Lohara, made his first irruption into Kaśmîr, from Rajaurî, he led his small band of followers through the territory of the Governor of Lohara. After defeating the latter's forces at Parṇotsa, he surprised the commandant of the *Dvâra* and reached safely the rebel camp in Kramarâjya, the western portion of the Valley.[12] Kalhaṇa's special reference to the consternation caused by the sudden appearance of the pretender is significant.[13] It is clearly connected with the fact that Uchchala's invasion took place at the beginning of the month Vaiśâkha, *i. e.*, in April, when the Tôṣ[a]maidân Pass, according to the

[7] See vii. 140 sq. The *dvâra* referred to in this passage can be safely identified with the *draṅga* or frontier watch-station which was situated on the Kaśmîr side of the Tôṣ[a]maidân Pass above the present village of *Drang*. It is mentioned under the name *Kârkoṭadraṅga* in viii. 1997, 2010. Compare my note on iii. 227.

[8] Comp. *Vikramâṅkad.* xviii. 47, 67. [9] Comp. vii. 251 sqq. [10] Comp. vii. 703 sqq.

[11] See vii. 939 sqq. [12] Comp. vii. 1298 sqq. [13] See vii. 1303.

information collected by me at Loh^{a}rin, can be crossed only on foot and with some difficulty.

§ 7. After the death of King Harsha, who to his own disadvantage had neglected the advice of his ministers counselling a timely retreat to the mountains of Lohara,[14] the rule over Kaśmîr and Lohara was again divided. The latter and the adjoining territories[15] fell to the share of **Sussala,** whereas Uchchala, his elder brother, took Kaśmîr. From Lohara Sussala made an attempt to oust his brother, but was defeated on the march to Śrînagar near Selyapura[16] and forced to flee to the country of the Dards. From there he regained Lohara by difficult mountain tracks.[17]

When Uchchala fell a victim to a conspiracy, his brother received the news within one and a half days,[18] and started at once for Kaśmîr to secure the throne. The murder of Uchchala took place on the sixth day of the bright half of Pauṣa of the Laukika year 4187. This date corresponds to the 8th December A. D. 1111. So late in the year the Tôś^{a}maidân route must have been closed by snow. It is therefore probable that Sussala marched by one of the more western and lower passes which lead from the valley of Sadrûn to the valley of the Vitastâ below Vârâhamula.[19] It agrees fully with this assumption that we find subsequently Sussala encamped above **Hushkapura** (Ushkûr) opposite Vârâhamûla which would be the natural goal for an invader using one of the above routes.[20] Foiled in his endeavour on this occasion Sussala retreated with difficulty to Lohara over paths on which the snow lay deep and under continual fighting with marauding *Khaśas*.[21]

§ 8. Sussala some months later succeeded in wresting Kaśmîr from his half-brother Salhaṇa, and subsequently used the stronghold of Lohara for the custody of his dangerous relatives and as the hoarding place of the treasures he accumulated by an oppressive rule.[22] When threatened in the summer of 1120 A. D. by the rebel forces of the pretender Bhikshâchara he sent his son and family to

[14] vii. 1386, 1568, 1598. [15] See viii. 8, *Loharasambandham maṇḍalântaram.*

[16] viii. 192 sqq.— *Selyapura* is probably the present village of *Silpûr* in the Dûnts Pargaṇa, situated on the direct route from Drang to Śrînagar.

[17] See viii. 207. [18] See viii. 379.

[19] To the present day the people of Loh^{a}rin, when obliged to proceed to Kaśmîr during the winter months, use the routes leading over the mountains from Sadrûn. Of these the *Hajji Pîr* Pass (8,500′) is never closed entirely. The *Pajja* Pass, though somewhat higher, is certainly still open in December. A route leading from the latter along the lower ridges down to *Ushkûr* is actually marked on the Survey maps, and this would have been the most convenient one for Sussala's expedition.

[20] See viii. 390. [21] Comp. viii. 411. [22] Comp. viii. 519, 537, 639.

Lohara for safety and followed them himself in the month of Mârgaśîrsha of that year *viâ* Hushkapura.[23] In the following spring the usurper Bhikshâchara despatched a force *viâ* Râjapurî in order to attack Sussala in his mountain fastness. These troops on their advance from the south were met by Sussala at Parṇotsa and there utterly routed. During the remainder of Sussala's reign we hear of Lohara only once more when Jayasiṁha is brought back to Kaśmîr after three years' residence at Lohara and met by his father at Vârâhamûla.[24]

§ 9. Fuller details regarding the topography of Lohara are to be found in the narrative of the events which took place there during the rule of **Jayasiṁha,** *i. e.*, in Kalhaṇa's own time.

Of the princes whom Sussala on his accession to the Kaśmîr throne had confined at Lohara, **Loṭhana** with five of his relatives was in A. D. 1130 still in captivity there. A conspiracy of some of the officers in charge of the Lohara garrison (*koṭṭabhṛitya*) utilized the opportunity offered when Preman, the commandant of the castle, had gone down to the neighbouring **Aṭṭâlikâ** on business, and set free the prisoners in the night of the 10th Jyaishṭha *vati* of that year.[25] Loṭhana was proclaimed king, and before daybreak the stronghold and the treasures which Sussala had deposited there, were in his possession. Preman on receipt of the news hurried back the same morning from Aṭṭâlikâ, but was met by the conspirators at the approach to the castle and forced to retreat.

The expressions used by Kalhaṇa in the passages recorded below make it clear that **Aṭṭâlikâ** must be the name of a locality situated below Lohara and in comparative proximity of the castle.[26] In view of this evidence and of what will be said below regarding the position of the force sent for the recapture of Lohara, I do not hesitate to recognize the name *Aṭṭâlikâ* in that of the present village **Aṭôlî,** situated close to the point where the valley of Loh³rin meets that of Gâgrî, some eight miles below Loh³rin proper.

At the actual junction of the two valleys lies **Maṇḍî.** This place consists entirely of shops, some eighty in number, and these account for its name, which means 'market' in Pahârî as well as Panjâbî.

[23] viii. 717, 819 sqq.
[24] Comp. viii. 1227 sqq.
[25] Comp. viii. 1794, 1831.
[26] See viii. 831, 1819, 1994. — I believe *Aṭṭâlikâ* to be the correct form of the name; it is written thus by A in viii. 831, 1819, 1945. *Aṭṭalikâ* is found twice (viii. 1842, 1994) and *Aṭṭilikâ* also twice (viii. 581, 1991) in that Codex. L agrees with these readings.

Maṇḍî is now the commercial centre of the whole district and has probably occupied the same position in earlier centuries. I see a distinct reference to it in the passage viii. 1991 where Kalhaṇa relates the looting of *Aṭṭilikâpaṇa*, *i. e.*, 'the market of Aṭṭilikâ (Aṭṭâlikâ).'

§ 10. The news of this rebellion was carried by a messenger to King Jayasiṁha and reached him on the following day at Vijayeśvara (Vijᵉbrôr).[27] He at once despatched a force for the recovery of Lohara. The Kaśmîrian leader took up his position at Aṭṭâlikâ from where he endeavoured to close all approaches to Lohara.[28] While the besieging troops suffered from the great summer heat and the consequent fevers,[29] Somapâla, Râjâ of Râjapurî, who was instigated by Sujji, a disaffected minister of Jayasiṁha, approached from the south to attack them.

The Kaśmîrians wished then to retreat to their own country, and finding the route by **Sârambara** closed by the enemy, were obliged to take to a difficult mountain pass called **Kâlenaka**. They started from Aṭṭâlikâ on a path leading along the precipitous side of a defile and were followed on the opposite side by the enemy. The Kaśmîrian troops and their followers reached that day without opposition a mountain village called **Vanikâvâsa** and camped there and in the neighbouring hamlets. At midnight they were surprised by Sujji's force and thrown into confusion. In the general stampede which followed, the Kaśmîr army was destroyed and its leaders captured. The fugitives were plundered in the mountains by the Khaśas.[30]

The situation of the Kaśmîrian troops at Aṭṭâlikâ and the route taken by them on their disastrous retreat can be fully understood by a reference to the map. When threatened from the south by Sujji who advances from Parṇotsa, the Kaśmîrians wish to regain their own territory, but cannot use the direct route over the Tôṣᵃmaidân Pass as it is blocked by the rebels at the Lohara castle. The other main route up the Gâgrî valley which would open to them the approach to the Firôzpûr Pass or to any of the other passes leading over the mountains to N.W. of the Tôṣᵃmaidân, is closed by the

[27] Comp. viii. 1779, 1793-96. [28] Comp. viii. 1836-1843.

[29] See viii. 1865, 1873, 1839. — *Maṇḍî*, which lies at an elevation of probably not much over 4000′, is, as I found myself in August 1892, a hot place even in the rainy season. Its inhabitants suffer a good deal from the dangerous fevers to which all the lower valleys to the south of the Pîr Pantsâl are subject at certain seasons; comp. my notes on viii. 1873, 1632. Rice-cultivation flourishes about Maṇḍî, whereas at Lohᵃrin, which lies at an altitude from six to seven thousand feet and consequently has a climate colder than the Kaśmîr Valley, rice does not grow and Indian corn is the chief product. [30] Comp. viii. 1873-1906.

enemy stationed at *Sârambara*. This place I identify with the large village of **Châmbar** situated about 5 miles above Maṇḍî in the Gâgrî Valley.[31]

There remains thus for their escape only the route through the side valley which opens to the S. W. at the village of Palêra, some three miles above Maṇḍî on the way to Lohᵃrin. A difficult path, marked on the larger Survey map, leads through this valley, past the village of **Van** to an alp called **Kuliyan** from which a valley leading down to Sûran is gained. From the latter place the Kaśmîr force might have retired in safety over the Pîr Pantsâl Pass.

Van I identify with Kalhaṇa's **Vanikâvâsa**[32] and Kuliyan with **Kâlenaka.** The dangerous defile through which Jayasiṁha's troops retreat to Vanikâvâsa, is clearly the narrow gorge of the Lohᵃrin River which must be passed before reaching Palêra. For about two miles the road leads there high above the river along precipitous cliffs, and in many places it appears to have been artificially cut into the face of the latter.

§ 11. The conclusive evidence furnished by the above narrative as to the position of Lohara permits us to note more briefly the remaining references in the Chronicle. A temporary absence of Loṭhana from Lohara gave an opportunity to another pretender, **Mallârjuna,** to take possession of the stronghold[33] and the territory attached to it. Loṭhana turned out of the '*Koṭṭarâjya*' harassed his rival from Aṭṭâlikâ and other places,[34] but subsequently made peace with him and proceeded to invade Kaśmîr with the help of powerful allies among the rebellious Ḍâmaras. He crossed the mountains and took up a position at **Kârkoṭadraṅga,** *i. e.*, the modern Drang below the Tôsᵃmaidân plateau.[35] Eventually Lohara was reoccupied by Jayasiṁha's troops and Mallârjuna forced to flee.[36] On the way he was

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[31] Analogies in the phonetic conversion of other Kaśmîr local names which have been discussed by me in notes i. 100 and viii. 176 permit us to trace back the modern name *Châmbar* to *Sârambara* through *S(a)rámbara > *Śrâmbar. Initial Skr. *ś* which otherwise is regularly replaced in Kaśmîrî by *h*, is preserved, as *ś* or *ch*, in cases where this initial consonant was protected by immediate contact with a following consonant; comp., e. *g.*, Ks. *Chirâṭh* < Skr. *Śrîrâshṭra*.

[32] In *Vanikâvâsa* we have probably the simple name *Vanikâ* with the addition of *âvâsa* 'habitation;' see note viii. 1877. *Van* is the Ks. form of the name which on the map is marked '*Ban*' according to the Pahârî pronunciation.

[33] Comp. viii. 1941 sqq. — Lohara is designated here and elsewhere (*e. g.*, viii. 1631, 1966, 1969, 1971, 1994, 2008, 2022, 2029) by the simple term *Koṭṭa*, 'castle,' an abbreviation for *Loharakoṭṭa*.

[34] Comp. viii. 1989 sqq.

[35] Comp. viii. 1995 sqq., 1919, and above note 7.

[36] viii. 2022.

plundered of the treasures carried away from Lohara and ultimately captured at the village of **Sâvarṇika**. The latter is distinctly designated as belonging to the territory of Lohara and can hence be identified with the village of *Sûran* in the Tohî Valley already mentioned.[37] Finally Kalhaṇa relates to us the installation of Gulhaṇa, Jayasiṁha's eldest son, as ruler of Lohara during the life-time of his father.[38]

The references to Lohara in the **later Chronicles** are few and do not add to our knowledge regarding to its situation.[39] As a stronghold it had evidently retained its importance for Kaśmîr only as long as the dynasty which had its home there remained in power. That trade continued to pass through Lohara, can, however, be concluded from an allusion to the customs revenue levied there in the reign of Muḥammad Shâh about A. D. 1530.[40]

§ 12. Of far greater interest and importance are the references to the fortress of Lohara which we meet in **Albêrûnî's Indica**. We owe them indirectly to the unsuccessful expedition which Maḥmûd of Ghazna had led against Kaśmîr. Albêrûnî at the close of his account of Kaśmîr geography[41] mentions to the south of the capital the high peak '**Kulârjak**' resembling by its cupola shape the mountain Dunbâvand (Demâvand). "The snow there never melts. It is always visible from the region of *Tâkeshar* and *Lauhâwar* (Lahore). The distance between this peak and the plateau of Kashmîr is two *farsakh*. The fortress *Râjâgirî* lies south of it, and the fortress **Lahûr** west of it, the two strongest places I have ever seen. The town Râjâwarî (Râjapurî) is three *farsakh* distant from the peak."

It can scarcely be doubted that Albêrûnî refers here to Mount **Taṭakûṭî** which rises to an elevation of 15,524 feet in the central part of the Pîr Pantsâl range and is the highest peak in the whole chain of mountains to the S. of Kaśmîr. Its bold form and isolated position make Mount Taṭakûṭî most conspicuous, in particular for an observer from the south. It is surrounded by extensive snowfields which remain throughout the year,[42] and bears on its S. face a small glacier. Mount Taṭakûṭî has the shape described by Albêrûnî and

[37] See viii. 2275 sqq. with note viii. 2277.

[38] viii. 3301, 3372.

[39] See *Jonarâja*, 464 sqq.; *Śrîvara*, iii. 482; iv. 137; Fourth Chronicle, 131, 294 sqq.

[40] See Fourth Chron. 294 sqq.

[41] Comp. Albêrûnî's *Indica* (transl. Sachau), Vol. i. p. 207 sq.

[42] Compare Drew, *Jummoo*, p. 205, and the panoramic view of the Pîr Pantsâl range in Dr. Neve's *Guide to Kashmîr*. See also my account of an ascent of Taṭakûṭî in *Reisebriefe aus Kashmîr*, Münchener Allgem. Zeitung., Aug 1889.

can be seen through the greatest part of the year from the districts of Siâlkôṭ and Gujrânwâla to the E. of the Chinâb (Tâkeshar). Its snowy dome has occasionally in very clear weather been sighted by me even from Lahore.[43]

The position of the fortress *Râjágirî* (recte Râjagiri), which is referred to also by Kalhaṇa, vii. 1270, as in possession of the Râjâ of Râjapurî, must be looked for at some point of the upper Sûran valley, *i. e.*, to the south of the Mount Taṭakûṭî.[44] Finally the 'fortress *Lahûr*' which Albêrûnî places west of Mount Kulârjak, can be no other than our Lohara. The entrance of the Lohaṛin valley lies almost due west of the Taṭakûṭî, at a distance of about 13 miles as the crow flies.

The identity of Albêrûnî's second fortress with Loharakoṭṭa is shewn yet more clearly by another passage of the *Indica*,[45] where its name is given as **Lauhûr** and its distance from the capital of Kaśmîr estimated at 56 miles, "half the way beingd rugged country, the other half plain." Without examining the question as to what measure is meant by the "miles" of the text, it may be noted that the actual length of the route from Lohaṛin to Srînagar *viâ* the Tôśaṃaidân Pass can be put at about 60 English miles. Of these circ. 20 miles lie in the level plain of the Kaśmîr Valley. Adding to this distance that portion of the route which leads over the flat grassy slopes of the Tôśaṃaidân plateau on the Kaśmîr side of the pass, and which is almost equally easy, we approach very closely to the proportion indicated by Albêrûnî.

But Albêrûnî has left us yet another indication for testing the correctness of our identification. In the last quoted passage of the *Indica* he informs us that he had himself made an observation of the latitude of the fortress '*Lauhûr*,' and shews it there as 34° 10′. In his *Canon Masudicus*, however, as Prof. Sachau's note ii., p. 341, informs us, the latitude of Lauhûr is given as 33° 40′. Whichever figure we may adopt, the result of Âlbêrûnî's observation agrees close-

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[43] The *Tûkeshar* of Albêrûnî corresponds to Kalhaṇa's *Ṭakkadeśa*, and Hiuen Tsiang's *Tseh-kia* (Ṭakka); comp. my note on Râjat. v. 150.

Cunningham, *Anc. Geogr.* p. 151, is certainly mistaken in identifying Albêrûnî's peak with the great *Nanga Parvat* (26,629 feet above the sea) which lies in Astôr to the *north* of Kaśmîr. On account of the intervening ranges it is more than doubtful whether Nanga Parvat can ever be seen from any point of the Panjâb plains.

I am unable to explain the name *Kulârjak* given to the peak by Albêrûnî.

[44] Compare my note on vii. 1270.

[45] See *Indica*, i. p. 317, and Prof. Sachau's note thereon, ii. p. 341.

ly enough with the actual latitude of Lohᵃrin which is about 33° 48′ according to the Survey maps.[46]

§ 13. Albêrûnî's personal acquaintance with the fortress 'Lauhûr' can only date from the unsuccessful expedition which **Maḥmûd of Ghazna** undertook against Kaśmîr. The Muhammadan historians extracted by Elliot assign varying dates to this expedition, but agree in relating that Maḥmûd's invasion was brought to a standstill at the siege of the fort of '**Lôh-Kôt**' which as Ferishta tells us, "was remarkable on account of its height and strength." "After a while when the snow began to fall, and the season became intensely cold, and the enemy received reinforcements from Kashmîr, the Sultân was obliged to abandon his design and to return to Ghaznî."[47] The description here given agrees so well with what Albêrûnî says of 'Lauhûr' (Lohara) and its position on the confines of Kaśmîr, that we cannot hesitate to recognize in *Lôh-Kôt* the *Loharakoṭṭa* of the Chronicle. Considering the endless corruptions to which Indian proper names are exposed in the works of Muhammadan authors, we may rest satisfied with the form in which the name of a little-known locality has in this instance been preserved for us.

§ 14. In modern times it fell once more to the share of Lohᵃrin to witness the failure of an invader. **Ranjit Singh** who in the summer of 1814 had led in person a portion of the Sikh army into the Valley with the object of entering Kaśmîr by the Tôśᵃmaidân Pass, met here with a reverse to which the natural difficulties of this mountain region contributed quite as much as the resistance of his Paṭhân opponents.[48] Similarly we may suppose that the ancient Loharakoṭṭa

[46] The fair accuracy of the other Indian latitudes observed by Albêrûnî is shewn by Prof. Sachau's comparative table, ii. p. 341.—Inasmuch as the *Canon Masudicus* was written after the author's *Indica* and is preserved in more than one MS., its figure, perhaps, deserves greater consideration. It must also be noted that Albêrûnî in the same passage of the *Indica* gives the latitude of Kaśmîr from a Hindu authority as 34° 9′. From his knowledge of the relative geographical position of the two localities he must have considered this observation as incorrect, if the latitude of *Lauhûr* was really taken by him as 34° 10′. Yet he makes no remark regarding this difference.

[47] Comp. Elliot, *History of India*, ii. pp. 455, 466 sq. Ferishta's account places the expedition in A. H. 406 (A. D. 1015); according to the Tabâkât-i-Akbarî it took place in A. H. 412 (A. D. 1021). As Albêrûnî's residence in India as an involuntary follower of Maḥmûd's court falls after the capture of Khwârizm, A. D. 1017, the later date would be preferable.

[48] The pious legend of the Lohᵃrin people attributes the Mahârâja's defeat to the miraculous intervention of the Saint 'Saiyid Chanan' who lies buried near the village of Tântrᵉvand in Lohᵃrin proper. Mysterious noises and 'alarms' proceeding from his Ziârat are said to have thrown the Sikh army into confusion and to have brought about its precipitous flight.

derived no small portion of its vaunted strength from the natural advantages of its situation.

The valley of Loh^{a}rin from the defile of Palêra upward offers a series of excellent defensive positions which would need but comparatively little fortification to be rendered almost impregnable for an enemy not possessed of guns. At several places cross ridges with precipitous cliffs descend into the Valley and reduce it to a gorge. Barriers are thus formed from which the route on either side of the river is completely commanded.

§ 15. In Loh^{a}rin proper distinct **traditions of an ancient 'Killa'** or fortress cling to the isolated ridge which projects, in the direction from N.W. to S.E., towards the right bank of the Loh^{a}rin River just above the village of Gêg^{i}vand (shewn on the Survey map as 'Gajian'). At its S.E. extremity this ridge falls off abruptly with a rocky face. On the N.E. and S. W. sides its slopes descend with equal steepness to the beds of the streams which flow through the Tânṯ^{r}ivand and Gêg^{i}vand villages. The top of this ridge lies about 300 feet above the level of the Valley and forms a narrow plateau about a quarter of a mile long. At the S. E. end of this plateau rises a small hillock. This was pointed out to me by old villagers as the site of a fort which is supposed to have stood there long before the time of the Muhammadan Râjâs of Prûnṯs.

No remains are now visible above ground except traces of rough walls on the sides of this hillock and stone-heaps at various places. As the whole ridge has been used for a long time back as a burial ground, many of the large stones placed over the tombs may have originally been carried away from the site of the 'Killa.' A large treasure is believed to be buried there. The ridge itself is accessible only by a narrow neck which connects it on the north with the hill-side behind. The approach to this point appears to have been

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In reality Raṇjit Singh's retreat was due to far more natural causes. His troops had suffered already great losses by sickness and desertion on the advance to the Tôśa-maidân plateau. When the latter was reached by his advance-guard, the Sikhs found themselves without supplies and confronted by a strongly posted force of Aẓîm Khân, the Afghân Governor of Kaśmîr. After a few days spent in inaction Raṇjit Singh received news of the defeat which his general Râm Dyâl sent with a second column by the Pîr Pantṣâl Pass, had suffered before Śupiyan.

Raṇjit Singh then felt obliged to order a retreat. This developed into a complete deroute when the hillmen of the Râjâ of Pûnch (Prûnṯs) attacked the Sikhs from the mountains about Loh^{a}rin. On the 30th July 1814 Raṇjit Singh himself had to flee to Maṇḍî after the complete loss of his baggage and a great portion of his army.

The best account of this expedition I have been able to trace, is that given by Baron Hügel, *Kaschmir und das Reich der Siekh*, ii. pp. 144 sqq.

guarded by two smaller forts which the tradition of the Loh^{a}rin people places on spurs projecting from the mountain, one to the west and the other to the north of the commencement of the ridge. Quite close to the latter point is a fine spring.

§ 16. Though the traditions and scanty remains here indicated do not by themselves admit of any certain conclusion, it may be safely asserted that the ridge described would have afforded an excellent position for a hill castle designed for barring the route up the valley. The actual road leading to the Tôś^{a}maidân Pass winds round the foot of the ridge on the S. and E. On account of the proximity of the deeply cut river-bed the road could never have followed a different direction. On the left side of the valley and opposite to the ridge, a high mountain spur descends with rugged cliffs to the river-bed. The difficult path which leads along this bank towards the Nûrpûr Pass, is unfit for laden animals and could have been easily defended in case of any attempt to turn the ridge.

In view of the topographical facts here indicated I am inclined to look upon the ridge in the centre of Loh^{a}rin as the most likely site of **Loharakoṭṭa.** The absence of more conspicuous remains above ground can scarcely be considered an argument against this assumption, if we keep in view the time-honored fashion in which forts are constructed in and about Kaśmîr. The walls are built of rough unhewn stones set in a framework of wooden beams and are liable to rapid decay, if once neglected.[49] This fact is sufficiently illustrated by the wholly ruinous condition of many of the forts which the Sikhs erected on the routes to Kaśmîr in the early part of this century.

Adding to this fact the destructive action of the heavy monsoon rains and the equally heavy snowfall to which the southern slopes of the Pîr Pantsâl are exposed, we cannot well feel surprised if a once famous stronghold can now, after seven centuries, be traced only in shapeless heaps of stones and a lingering tradition.

[49] For the description of a fort built on the above system see *e. g.* the accounts of the recent siege of the Chitrâl Fort (1895).